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AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

USMISSION GENEVA

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

CINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 16692

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFRO, CZ, PL, UR

SUBJ: HUSAK VISIT TO MOSCOW: TREATY REVISION IN THE OFFERING?

REF: PRAGUE 2923

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1. SUMMARY. WE SPECULATE THAT HUSAK MAY BE COMING TO MOSCOW TO SIGN A NEW OR REVISED SOVIET-CZECHOSLOVAK FRIENDSHIP TREATY. HIS "OFFICIAL FRIENDSHIP VISIT" ANNOUNCED NOV 15 PICKS UP THE HONECKER VISIT NOMENCLATURE; REREADING THE 1970 TREATY IN LIGHT OF THE NEW GDR TREATY, WE CAN ALSO IDENTIFY SEVERAL ELEMENTS WHICH COULD BE ADDED OR DROPPED TO REFLECT CHANGES SINCE THAT TIME IF THE SOVIETS WANT IT BADLY ENOUGH. PRESUMABLY GROMYKO HAD REASONS OTHER THAN MBFR TO VISIT BOTH PRAGUE AND EAST BERLIN ON HIS RETURN FROM THE U.S., AND HE MAY HAVE BEEN WORKING ON NEW TREATIES IN BOTH LOCALES. IF SO, POLAND WILL BE MORE BACKWARD THAN EVER IN THE COMPETITION WITH ITS NEIGHBORS FOR SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, AND WHILE WE DOUBT THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD EXERT DIRECT PRESSURE ON POLAND WHEN FRESH PRICE RISES ARE IN THE OFFING THERE, THEY MAY NOT BE AVERSE TO LETTING THE NEW RECORD SPEAK FOR ITSELF. END SUMMARY.

2. NOV 15 PRAVDA CARRIED WHAT IS PRESUMABLY SAME ANNOUNCEMENT AS RUDE PRAVO (REFTEL) OF HUSAK "OFFICIAL FRIENDSHIP VISIT" TO USSR IN SECOND HALF OF NOVEMBER, THE SAME NOMENCLATURE USED FOR THE RECENT HONECKER VISIT. WE ARE NOT AWARE OF ANY PRESSING BILATERAL PROBLEMS WITH THE CZECHOSLOVAKS WHICH REQUIRE RESOLUTION AT THIS LEVEL. SOVIET RAW MATERIAL PRICES, AND THE PRICES THE SOVIETS WILL PAY FOR CZECH MANUFACTURES IN RETURN, ARE NO DOUBT BURNING ISSUES, BUT WE WOULD ASSUME THEIR LEVELS HAVE BY NOW BEEN DETERMINED AT LEAST FOR 1976, IF ONLY TO PERMIT BOTH COUNTRIES TO SHAKE DOWN THE 1976 PLANS FOR ANNOUNCEMENT NEXT MONTH. NEITHER CAN WE CONCEIVE OF THE CZECHS MAKING TROUBLE FOR THE SOVIETS ON EAST-WEST MULTILATERAL ISSUES LIKE MBFR OR CSCE IMPLEMENTATION. CONSEQUENTLY, WE ASSUME THE POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS INTERNAL TO THE "WORLD SOCIALIST COMMUNITY" ACCOUNT FOR THE TIMING AND LEVEL OF THIS VISIT.

3. WE HAVE NO CONFIRMATION OF THE SPATE OF RUMORS FOLLOWING THE SOVIET-GDR TREATY THAT IT WAS INTENDED TO SERVE AS A MODEL FOR REVISION OF SOVIET TREATIES WITH OTHER EAST EUROPEANS, BUT IT OCCURS TO US THAT THE CZECHOSLOVAK TREATY OF MAY 6, 1970, MAY BE A LIKELY CANDIDATE FOR REVISION AT THIS JUNCTURE IF THE SOVIETS WANT IT BADLY ENOUGH.

4. THIS MAY SOUND ODD, SINCE THE 1970 TREATY IS KNOWN FOR ITS CONFIDENTIAL

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SLAVISHNESS, AND ESPECIALLY FOR DROPPING THE LIMITATION OF MUTUAL DEFENSE OBLIGATION TO "EUROPE," AS PROVIDED IN THE WARSAW TREATY ITSELF. NEVERTHELESS, COMPARING THE TREATY WITH THE NEW SOVIET-GDR TREATY, WE HAVE FOUND A NUMBER OF OTHER ELEMENTS WHICH COULD STAND UPDATING TO REFLECT SUBSEQUENT CHANGES.

5. THE MAIN SUBSEQUENT CHANGE, OF COURSE, IS HELSINKI, AND THE "NEW STAGE" IN EUROPEAN HISTORY IT IS SUPPOSE TO HAVE INTRODUCED.

IN THE PREAMBLE TO THE 1970 TREATY, THE SOVIETS AND CZECHS JUSTIFIED GOING BEYOND THEIR 1943 TREATY (SIGNED BY THE SOVIETS WITH THE CZECH GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE) BY POINTING TO "SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION IN BOTH COUNTRIES" AND THE "CHANGES WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN EUROPE AND THE WORLD" SINCE 1943. THE GDR TREATY ALSO REFERRED TO SUCH CHANGES (WITHOUT GIVING A DATE), AND, AS WITH THE GDR, HELSINKI PROVIDES A FRESH INCENTIVE FOR REVISION.

6. THERE ARE ALSO A NUMBER OF SPECIFIC PROVISIONS WHICH MAY NOW SEEM OUTDATED (AND GOOD INTERNATIONAL LAWYERS COULD PERHAPS FIND MORE). FOR EXAMPLE, THE ARTICLE 6 STATEMENT ON THE MUNICH AGREEMENT AND THE ARTICLE 9 PROVISIONS AGAINST AGGRESSION FROM "MILITARISM AND REVANCHISM" MAY NO LONGER BE REQUIRED, IN LIGHT OF SOVIET AND CZECH TREATIES WITH THE FRG. (THE NEW GDR TREATY MENTIONS REVANCHISM AND MILITARISM, BUT THE GDR PROBABLY CONTINUES TO TAKE THEM MORE SERIOUSLY THAN THE CZECHS). CONVERSELY, SOME ADDITIONS MAY BE IN ORDER: THE NEW GDR TREATY CALLS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATION "ACCORDING TO PLAN" (PLANOMERNO), AND FOR PLAN COORDINATION, SPECIALIZATION AND COOPERATION, ALL ELEMENTS MISSING FROM THE 1970 DOCUMENT.

7. RECENT SOVIET MEDIA TREATMENT OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA COULD ALSO BE TAKEN TO PRESAGE REVISION. THE CZECH CC MESSAGE TO PARTY ORGANS AND ORGANIZATIONS ON THE UPCOMING 15TH CPCZ CONGRESS DESCRIBED IN A NOVEMBER 15 PRAGE TASS ITEM PRINTED IN PRAVDA NOVEMBER 16 IS EXTREMELY HEAVY ON CZECH TIES WITH THE USSR AND THE "SOCIALIST COMMUNITY." CPSU POLITBURO MEMBER GRISHIN'S NOVEMBER 17 REMARKS OPENING THE "PRAGUE DAYS" IN MOSCOW (CARRIED IN PRAVDA NOVEMBER 18) ALSO READ LIKE HEART CALLING TO HEART; IN PARTICULAR GRISHIN HAD IT THAT THE FRIENDSHIP OF THE TWO COUNTRIES IS FOUNDED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM.

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8. ON OTHER HAND, ROMANIAN DCM IN MOSCOW TOLD EMBOFF NOV 18 HE HAD HEARD "STORIES" THAT HUSAK WOULD SIGN NEW TREATY HERE BUT WAS WILLING TO BET BOTTLE OF CHAMPAGNE THAT IT WOULD NOT HAPPEN, SINCE 1970 TREATY "TOO NEW" AND ONLY "REAL" SUBSEQUENT CHANGE HAD BEEN FRG-CZECHOSLOVAK AGREEMENT CONCERNING MUNICH. AT SAME TIME, HE SEEMED MUCH MORE CERTAIN THAT BULGARIA AND, OF COURSE, ROMANIA WOULD NOT SIGN NEW OR REVISED TREATIES WITH USSR.

9. COMMENT. THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE SOVIET-CZECHOSLOVAK TREATY WILL BE REVISED DURING THE HUSAK VISIT IS, OF COURSE, ONLY SPECULATION ON OUR PART. AT THE SAME TIME, WE ASSUME GROMYKO HAD REASONS OTHER THAN MBFR TO VISIT PRAGUE AND EAST BERLIN ON HIS WAY BACK FROM THE U.S. AND CANADA IN LATE SEPTEMBER AND HE MAY HAVE BEEN WORKING ON NEW TREATIES IN BOTH

LOCALES. IF SO, POLAND WILL BE EVEN MORE ISOLATED IN NORTH-EASTERN EUROPE THAN IT IS NOW. THE POLES HAVE NEVER EVEN AGREED IN PRINCIPLE TO DEFEND THE SOVIET ASIAN FRONTIER. THE EAST GERMANS AND CZECHS ARE NOW A STEP AHEAD IN FIDELITY, AND IF HUSAK SIGNED A NEW TREATY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA WOULD BE TWO STEPS AHEAD OF POLAND. WE SUSPECT THE SOVIETS WOULD HESITATE TO PUT DIRECT PRESSURE ON THE POLES AT A TIME WHEN PRICE RISES MAY BE ON THE POLISH AGENDA--MEMORIES OF 1970 SHOULD BE QUITE AS LONG AS MEMORIES OF 1968 IN MOSCOW--BUT THEY WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE AVERSE TO LETTING THE RECORD OF POLISH BACKWARDNESS, IN COMPARISON WITH POLAND'S OTHER NEIGHBORS, SPEAK FOR ITSELF.
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